

Arizona



Miner.

SUPPLEMENT.

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UNION SOLDIERS AND SAILORS!

SPEECH OF

MAJOR-GEN. THOMAS EWING,

OF KANSAS.

At Cooper Institute, New York,

July 4th, 1868.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION:—I heartily thank you for the honor of being called upon to address this assembly of soldiers and sailors—the largest ever gathered on the continent since the grand review in Washington, at the close of the war of the victorious armies of the Potomac, of the Tennessee, and of Georgia. Of the comrades who separated then, and went each to his home and civil occupation, almost every regiment has here its representative. Why have we soldiers and sailors, who are proud of our service for the Union, assembled here in delegate convention to plan the overthrow of that political party which administered the Government through the war, and the defeat for the Presidency of him who was erst the leader of the Union army? [Applause.] With your indulgence, I will endeavor briefly to give the reasons for our meeting and for our intended action. [Cries of "Go on!"]

THE WAR CLOSED.
On the 4th of July, three years ago, the war for the suppression of the rebellion had wholly ended. General Lee had surrendered to General Grant the Army of Northern Virginia and its officers, and men were plowing the fields of the Old Dominion, drenched with the blood and scorched with the fires of four years of devastating war. Joe Johnston had surrendered to Sherman [applause], the daring and stubborn troops which our Western army had driven inch by inch from Belmont to Raleigh; and Selby's frontier command was scattered over the hemisphere from Montana to Brazil. [Laughter.] There was not in arms a Confederate soldier, mounted or on foot; not a dockyard, fort, or arsenal, in which there was a rebel ship, cannon or munition of land or sea; not a foot of deck on sea, over which a Confederate banner waved. The last rebel privateers were being dragged for condemnation from the Indian Ocean and the North Pacific. [Applause.] Never was there a rebellion more utterly overthrown, or a cause more hopelessly lost.

GOOD CONDUCT OF THE SOUTHERN PEOPLE.
The people of the Southern States, with wonderful promptness, quiet, and unanimity submitted to the result. You all know it was commonly predicted and believed North and South, that when the great armies of the Confederacy were conquered, dispersing, they would fill the land with guerrillas and wage a Vendean warfare, more destructive and irrepressible than the regular war out of which it grew. But this prediction was not in the smallest degree verified. Within sixty days after the last great battle of the war, the Federal marshals and tax-gatherers executed their process unopposed and unattended throughout the Southern States, in the jungles lately swarming with guerrillas, and over fields lately shaken with the roar of rebel artillery. The whole people of the South bowed to the authority of the nation, with hearts in which, as they are human, there were the purposes of the war. And by the Constitutional conventions and Legislatures, chosen by the electors of the Southern States the year the rebellion ended, their several Constitutions and their State laws were amended, abolishing slavery and the harsh codes founded on it, abandoning the doctrine of secession, repudiating the rebel debt, recognizing the national debt, and, in short, giving every guaranty which men could give, that in a spirit of concord they recognized and accepted, as accomplished, every avowed object of the war.

THE DUTY OF THE REPUBLICANS.
Now the Republican party was bound in loyalty, honor, and good conscience to accept this submission, and at once restore the Union by admitting the Southern States to representation, so far as they presented Senators and Representatives personally qualified. [Applause.] It was bound to do it out of obedience to the Constitution, in the sacred name of which the war was waged, and which, while allowing such House to judge of the qualifications of its own members, prohibits the exclusion from representation of any State as a State. And it was bound to do it, because the war was avowedly waged for the sole purpose of effecting the unconditional restoration of the Union, immediately upon the unconditional submission of the Southern people, through amendments of their Constitutions and laws, to the national authority. Said Sherman to the South, in his Atlanta letter: "We don't want your negroes or your horses, your houses or your lands, or anything you have, we only want, and will have, a just obedience to the Constitution and laws of the United States." [Applause.] And in that declaration he expressed the sole purpose of the war as declared by the Government, and understood by the army and navy and people of the Union. The Republican party, in its National Convention in 1864—just after Horace Greeley had tried to effect a dishonorable peace through George N. Sanders and Beverly Tucker—[hisses and laughter]—declared that the war was, and should be waged only to force "an unconditional surrender of hostility by the rebels, and a return to their just allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States." And from the beginning to the close of the war there stood, and still stands, on our statute books a law declaring that the war should be waged "in no spirit of oppression, but solely to restore the Union, with all the dignity, equality, and rights of the several States unimpaired." [Applause.] That law was the pledge of the Republican party, made in 1861, and reiterated in National Convention in 1864, that the tremendous powers confided to it by the people, without regard to party, for the vindication of the national authority, should never be used for party or sectional dominion. And on the faith of that pledge were given every dollar of money and every drop of blood spent in the war. [Applause.]

RADICAL PERFEIDY.

But the Republican party had not the wisdom or patriotism to accept this submission of the Southern people, and promptly restore the Union. It recoiled that before the war it was a minority party, and came into power, in 1861, through a division of the Democratic party, by much less than half the popular vote. Yet, with the prestige and moral power resulting from a successful prosecution of the war, and a prompt and complete restoration of the Union, it could have retained power until this generation of voters had passed away, or had forgotten the anti-war follies of the Democratic party. But it took counsel of its fears, doubted its own destiny, forgot the inextinguishable love in the hearts of the Northern people for the Constitution and the Union, and, therefore, refused to take what the war was alone waged to get—a prompt and cordial pacification and reunion under the Constitution. It did this in the vain hope of controlling the Southern States, by making voters of the negroes, and proscribing all the intelligent white men, who Congress and the Freedmen's Bureau could not bribe, or coax, or kick, or cuff into Republicanism. But while destroying the ten Southern States, and building in their stead ten rotten boroughs, to be represented in Congress in the interests of the Northern Radicals, by white adventurers and plantation negroes, the party is losing its strong hold on the Northern States—and, like the dog in the fable, drops the substance to snatch at the shadow. [Laughter and applause.]

THE FIRST WRONG STEP.

The first step toward postponing reunion until the Southern States could be subjugated by the Radical party was the offer, in 1865, of the Constitutional Amendment. It contained declarations of the results of the war, which the Southern States had already inserted in their Constitutions and codes under the advice of President Johnson, and to which they freely assented; and an alternative of negro suffrage or reduction of representation, and also important additions to the power of the Federal Government, to which they would have assented reluctantly for the sake of reunion. But, inseparably coupled with these, and making with them one proposition, which had to be accepted or rejected as a whole, was the clause of disfranchisement, which they could not accept without dishonor. It disqualified from holding any office, petty or exalted, State or Federal, in effect, every man who was of age when the war broke out and was fit to hold any office. So sweeping was the proposed proscription that after it was adopted into the reconstruction acts, General Meade, Schofield and Canby, respectively reported that it was impossible to administer the government of the Southern States while enforcing it, because, in many communities, there was really not a man fit to hold any office who was not disqualified by it. The Southern people did as the Radical leaders wished and knew they wished, and accepted the amendment. They acted like men in doing so. [Applause.] Let us ask ourselves, gentlemen, whether, if the North had rebelled and had been conquered, and the South had offered us re-union on condition that we should ourselves vote to disfranchise and degrade every Northern man who could read and write and cipher to the rule of three, as punishment for the rebellion in which all had participated, and to commit the Government and destinies of our State to the hands of only the most ignorant of our people, or to the camp-followers of the conquering army, we would have voted for our own disgrace and disfranchisement? [Voices, "No, no."] No people who are fit to be free would thus with their own hands put on their own necks the yoke of political slavery. [Great applause.] And so far from the rejection of that clause, and the proposed amendment of the Constitution with which it was inseparably connected, being a just cause of complaint against the Southern people, they would have merited the scorn and contempt of all high-minded men had they accepted it.

But the amendment served its purpose in the campaign of 1866. It was, to the careless or superficial observer, an effort in good faith by the Radical party to effect reunion. The Southern Legislatures unanimously and promptly, but respectfully, declared that they could not accept it, and were, therefore, violently denounced by the Radical press and orators as still defiant and rebellious. Just then the most mischievous men of both parties in New Orleans contrived to bring on a bloody riot, and the Radicals rode the temper of increased and swept the North.

Since then, with three-fourths of both Houses of Congress on their side, and animated by a thorough contempt of the Constitution, the Radical party has been omnipotent. It has protracted disunion nearly as long as the rebels did, and done more to destroy our form of Government than all the parties that ever controlled its destinies.

DISUNION PROCLAIMED.

On the 8th of July, 1863, in a debate in the House of Representatives, old Thad. Stevens [hisses] bluntly and boldly announced the doctrine that the Southern States were not States of the Union, and that Congress could legislate over them as over conquered territory. If this doctrine be true, it is because the acts of secession were constitutional, and in legal effect took the States out of the Union—that is, that under the Constitution, the States had a right to secede, and, therefore, the United States had no right to make war on them for seceding. That rebel doctrine, when thus announced by Stevens, was violently assailed by Owen Lovejoy, and other fierce Radicals of the House, and repudiated in the name of the war party.

In the year following, in the National Union Convention at Baltimore, Stevens again proclaimed this doctrine, declaring that Tennessee was but a subject province, and Andrew Johnson an alien enemy. But the Convention contemptuously repudiated his theory, and gave emphasis to its declaration by nominating Mr. Johnson for Vice President, and endorsing Mr. Lincoln's reconstruction policy. All this, however, was while the war was going on, and while soldiers were being called for to fight in the holy cause of the Constitution and the Union, and not for conquest. [Applause.] But when the rebellion ended, and the elections of 1866 gave the Radicals a new lease of power, this infamous dogma, which, if true, makes the war for secession constitutional and just, and the war for the Union a wicked and unprovoked conquest—a doctrine, which three years before had been, like the hateful Richard—

"Sent before its time
Into this breathing world, scarce half made up,
And that so lamely and unfashionable
That dogs bark at it as it halts by them"—
was now adopted by the Radical party as the fundamental theory of reconstruction and the shibboleth of loyalty.

THE CONSTITUTION GOTTEN RID OF.

Having fully adopted this rebel theory, that the Southern States were out of the

Union, and unsheltered by the broadegis of the Constitution, Congress declared invalid the amendments chosen by the electors of those States under the advice of Presidents Lincoln and Johnson, in conformity with State Constitutions and laws, and established over them military dictatorships, through which to inaugurate the rule of the negroes and their Northern allies. But here a new light in their programme was discovered, requiring to be patched by a newly-invented dogma. The Calhoun-Stevens theory of the validity of secession was good as far as it stretched; but, like a shelter tent, was neither broad nor long enough. It took the States out, and made them conquered provinces, but did not increase the power of Congress, nor deprive the inhabitants of the conquered territory of those guarantees of life, liberty and property which the Constitution extends to citizens and aliens alike on every foot of ground within the jurisdiction of the United States—the right of exemption from punishment by *ex post facto* laws; the liberty of speech and of the press; the right to keep and bear arms; the right to be free from unreasonable searches and seizures, and from deprivation of life, liberty or property without due process of law; the right of trial by jury; and, above all, the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus—that shield of liberty, in possession of which the people of a monarchy are free, and without which a republic is a despotism. [Great applause.] These constitutional guarantees were in the way of coercion, in peace, to touch any one of them. Unless these ancient and sacred liberties could be destroyed, vigorous military despotisms could not be established—and, without such despotisms, Radical reconstruction was impossible. While these guarantees remained in the Constitution, and were obeyed, the whole governing talent of the South could not be disfranchised, by a sweeping *ex post facto* law; Governors of States duly chosen by the electors in accordance with State Constitutions and laws could not be removed by district commanders as impediments to reconstruction; State Legislatures could not be prorogued at the point of the bayonet; State treasuries could not be robbed, and widow and orphan creditors defrauded of their dividends to pay plantation measures by the military. [Applause.] Now codes of laws, framed by Solons and moralists like Dan Sickles, [hisses], could not be proclaimed and enforced over the Carolinas; a judge conducting a murder trial could not be pushed from the bench, and the trial carried on by a colored man; American citizens could not be imprisoned as traitors, and no power charged with no crime, could not be arrested by scores, on *lettres de cachet* signed by a post-adjutant, immured in loathsome dungeons, and tortured to the point of death with the boot and sweat-bath, to make them swear to what a military commander suggested they knew touching the murder of some wretch like Ashburn; [applause]; and military commissions—these courts organized to convict, and to sentence no man can lay a charge uncertainly as to the law, or delay, or undue clemency in its execution, which adopt the efficient rule that it is better to punish than one guilty man escape—could not inspire respect for the Radical party and its measures. By these means prepared at a moment's warning to try any citizen for any crime, in the opinion of the officer convening the court, was a "crime against reconstruction," and to sentence him for months, or years, or life, to the dungeon or the Dry Tortugas, could reach the reach of Executive pardon or reprieve.

ASSUMPTION OF MORE POWERS.
It was indispensable, therefore, to get rid of those constitutional provisions, which are the sacred guarantees of the liberties of the people, and prohibitions of power to Congress. To avoid an avowal of a purpose to trample on the Constitution, the party, with decent hypocrisy, claimed a new derivation of Congressional power. They said that a formal vote of the States, as contemplated by the framers of the Constitution, and no powers were conferred in anticipation of such an emergency. Congress, therefore, was compelled, in the matter of reconstruction, to act outside of the Constitution.

The framers of the Constitution were the sons and grandsons of the Puritans and the cavaliers who kept England smoking with civil wars for half a century, [applause]; and who knew by personal experience how despotic was power when inflamed by the passions of domestic war—whether that power was legitimate sovereign, the president, or Parliament. And with recollections of this recent English history and traditions of family persecutions fresh in their minds—anticipating that the bold spirit of their sires would be transmitted to their children, and that our occasional revolts against the national authority—the framers of the Constitution not only withheld from Congress the power of inflicting in peace punishments at will for political offences, but also inserted these guarantees of personal liberty *ex post facto*, as express prohibitions, in order to prevent a Congress from driving the people to renewed war or to flight by measures of revenge such as sent their forefathers from England to our shores. [Great applause.]

As to Congress deriving power in any contingency outside of the Constitution, it is enough to say that Congress gets all its powers from the Constitution, and outside of it has no power, and is no Congress, [applause], and that all its acts not authorized by the Constitution are usurpations, whether against express prohibitions or not. If you present this argument to Radicals, they will reply that the Constitution is not giving Congress such authority is therein defective, and Congress needs and must exercise it. A French philosopher once proposed to Professor Aray a new theory of the transmission of light, which the English philosopher heard patiently, and then objected to it; that the theory was inconsistent with certain established facts of natural science. "So much as worse for *ex factis*," was the ready answer of the Frenchman. So, if you prove the reconstruction plan unconstitutional, the Radicals, in effect, answer, "So much the worse for the Constitution." [Great applause.]

Thus, to secure a reconstruction giving the Radicals of the North absolute control of the ten States of the South, not only were the State Governments abolished and military despotisms built on their ruins, but every revered guarantee of life, liberty and property which the Southern people and ourselves inherited from a free ancestry, and which our forefathers and their forefathers placed in the Constitution to be beyond the reach of the rude hand of faction, was boldly destroyed. No civilized people on this earth are as wholly without legal protection from the capricious oppression of their rulers as

the Southern people under these military despotisms. It is amazing how passively the people, North and South, have borne this gross, dangerous, insolent usurpation. But it has been quietly submitted to because of—the belief—now, thank God, almost certainly seized this Radical party and its half-executed usurpations, and dash them to pieces, [prolonged cheering]; and because many of the military commanders have tempered the harsh rule they were sent to inflict out of that love for our ancient liberties which is born in every true American, and which, shone through the administration of at least one of those commanders as to cover with new and fadeless glory the twice-illustrated of Hancock. [Tumultuous cheering and waving of hats.]

MONSTRIOUSNESS OF CONGRESSIONAL RECONSTRUCTION.

Gentlemen, I do not understand how any white American, proud of our race and of our free systems of Government, can behold, without mingled disgust and indignation, the methods and results of Congressional reconstruction, and the pretenses by which it is sustained. It is claimed to be in the interests of peace, while founding deadly strife and rancor between the two races, arraying them into conflicting parties, subjecting the superior to the inferior, and then leaving them to struggle for dominion! In the interests of liberty and progress—while tearing down ten free enlightened States, four of the old thirteen that founded the Republic, and establishing in their stead ten despotisms, in which the intelligent and cultivated white man is made subject to the ignorant and brutal negro—despotisms mitigated only by the fact that the negroes are but the ostensible rulers of the Southern whites, while the Northern Radicals are the real ones. That the negro acts only the part of the automaton chess player, while the Northern Radical party is the unseen intellect which directs the moves, is a fact which fingers the pawns. It is claimed to be in the interests of national property—while wasting the wealth and paralyzing the industries of the South on the one hand, and doubling the burdens of the Northern taxpayers, and destroying the eager markets for their manufactures and breadstuffs on the other. What a spectacle for gods and men does not this reconstruction present! See the black laborers of the South, fed in idleness out of money wrung from the toil of Northern white men, [applause], filled with ambition to rule the whites, and to grow rich by confiscations, and becoming each year more utterly and irretrievably idle and thriftless. The splendid sugar, cotton, and rice plantations, at once the evidence and the product of a century of civilization, overgrown with weeds; idle machinery rusting in the sugar-houses; the flocks of the Mississippi sweeping over neglected levees and abandoned plantations, and the boorish negro field hands sitting in conventions! Rebuild Virginia, the Nucleus of States, the mother of Presidents and illustrious statesmen—her at whose call our great Republic was formed—her by whose gift the Republic acquired the territory of the six great States of the Northwest! See the civil government founded by her Washington, [applause], Madison, [applause], Jefferson, [applause], Lee, [applause], the foremost statesmen of their day on the earth, destroyed, supplanted by a military despotism, and that, in turn, about to be supplanted by a civil government framed by infamous whites like Hunnicutt, and a rabble of half-civilized negroes. [Hisses.] If this be progress, progress, and liberty, God send us misanthropic reaction, and despotism forever! [Prolonged applause.]

The Radicals endeavor to smooth the hideous visage of this reconstruction by asserting that it is indispensable to prevent the Democratic party from regaining power and repudiating the national debt. In other words, to prevent repudiation, some device must be arranged by which a majority of the legal electors of ten States shall not be permitted to rule them. If that necessity really exists, the device cannot be long postponed by devolving, in the interest of the national credit, a scheme of reconstruction which violates the Constitution and the fundamental theory of our Government; breaks pledges of infinitely more sacred obligation than the money debt; cripples every industry in the land, and while reducing one-half of every man's ability to pay taxes, doubles his share of the public burden—the essential condition of which scheme is the perpetration of the rule of a party which now represents not one-third of the white people of the Nation. But, thank God, that necessity is not certain. The credit of the Republic as the Union of the States, rests secure in the hearts of the people. [Applause.] A vast majority of all parties will preserve and defend it, as they did the Union. But if the national credit could be shaken, it would be by the public creditors flocking into one party, and under the penalty of the national honor, scheming to perpetuate the power of that party at the cost of the established Constitutions and liberties of the States and the Nation. [Great applause. Cries of "That's so."]

INTERPRETATIONS OF CONGRESS.

To accomplish this scheme of reconstruction, the Constitution is not only abrogated, so far as the Southern States are concerned, but the form of our Government is being destroyed by the absorption by Congress of the chief powers of the National Executive.

Congress has assumed to take from the President the control of the army, which the Constitution gives him, and to commit that part of it employed in the South to General Grant and five district commanders. [Hisses.] Independent of the orders of the President. By this bold assumption of power, it has converted many high officers of the regular army to Radicalism and made zealous instruments of its usurpation. It has usurped the pardoning power, which the Constitution gives solely to the President, and, by sweeping bills of pains and penalties, proscribed the intelligent white men of the South, notwithstanding the pardons of the President. And it now shamelessly avows that it will give Congressional pardon only to those who set the look of the Radicals. [Hisses.] All such are loyal, though, like Governor Brown, of Georgia, they drove and dragged their people into rebellion, and coward-like, seized our arsenals and navy yards while yet wearing the mask of loyalty; while men like George W. Jones, of Tennessee, who stood by the Union from the first, but who oppose negro suffrage disfranchisement, are stigmatized as "heart malignant," deserving only proscription at the hands of the Sumners and Kelleys, and Butler, of Congress. [Great hisses. Cries, "Who stole the spoons?" "Dutch Gap."] "The pseudo privy councilors of God. Who write down judgments with a pen nibbed."

It took, too, from the President the power of removal, thus fomenting insubordination

in the civil service, as it had done in the military—prohibiting even the removal of his own Cabinet officers, the adjutants the whom he gives orders and receives reports.

And it crowned its usurpations by an impeachment founded on a statute it had passed, enacting the glaring and flagitious crime that is a high crime for the President to discharge the duties of removal imposed on him by the Constitution, as interpreted by the uniform usage of Government, from the administration of Washington down, [applause]; or even to so far attempt to exercise it as to bring the question of his constitutional power of removal to decision by the Supreme Court—that high arbiter fixed by the Constitution to settle every conflict over boundaries of power between the States and the United States, or between departments of the General Government. And, after having impeached him, and while giving him a lynch-law trial, the party, with a ferocity unparalleled even in the violent controversies of the day, brought its almost irresistible power to bear, through its leading men, its press, and its conventions to force Republican Senators to commit moral perjury by an insincere verdict. So foul an act was never before attempted by a party in this nation.

Had Andrew Johnson consulted his own interests, and become the instrument of a lawless faction, these essential executive powers would not have been disturbed, nor be arraigned as a criminal at the bar of the Senate. But, to his eternal renown, [applause], he stood by the Constitution when it was assailed by his party, as boldly and grandly as he had stood by the Union when the storm of war burst over and around it: "Unshaken, unswayed, unflinched. His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal; Nor number nor example with him wrought To sever from truth, or change his constant mind."

[Three cheers for Andrew Johnson. Tumultuous cheering.]

Gentlemen, in any Government but ours, usurpations so flagrant and fundamental would result in revolution; in ours they can be overturned by the people at the ballot-box. The appeal to the people this fall will decide whether the Radicals shall retain or surrender the power they have thus used, and are using for the destruction of the Union and of our form of National Government.

APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE.

If we could so take our appeal as to present to the people the living issues between the parties, free from the rubbish of past issues, who could doubt the result? If the Democratic Convention gives us a candidate who would unite as thoroughly the opponents of Radical rule as General Grant unites his supporters, that candidate would carry nine-tenths of the electoral college. [Applause.] The strength of the Radicals is not in their cause, but in the divisions of their adversaries.

The war was a success—not a failure. [Applause.] It settled the therefore disputed and doubtful question of secession, against the right to secede. It settled, too, the subject of slavery. There, however, were unsettled questions in 1864, and are unsettled to be involved in the political contest of that year. Now, the passions of the war and of that political controversy are not as dead as these issues in which they played their part. From them come all the hopes of the Radicals, and all the fears of the Unionists of the Constitution and the Union. Rousing these slumbering passions of the war, and led on by one of its foremost generals, the Radicals hope to fight over again the political battle of 1864. Shall they do it? ["No, no."] Ah, gentlemen, I wish this Convention should decide that question—but it is for the Democratic Convention to decide. By its choice of leader it will determine the battle ground, and decide whether the Democracy shall triumph on living issues, or be routed on dead ones. [Applause.] Whether the Radicals shall be arraigned and tried for what they did or failed to do four years ago.

Of a million and a half of present voters who served in the Union army or navy, this Convention represents at least a half. [Voices, "More than one-half," "two-thirds," "three-fourths."] Of those so represented, half or more—among whom I wish to be reckoned as one—will support any of the Democrats whose names have been mentioned for the Presidency; but the remainder, numbering several hundred thousand voters, will be won or lost to the cause, as the nomination proves wise or otherwise. [Laughter and applause.] This Convention has assembled in no spirit of dictation, but animated by devotion to the Constitution and the Union, and kindness to all who would preserve them, to aid in securing a harmonious nomination, and organizing a certain victory. I cannot suffer myself to doubt that the Democratic party has assembled this day in the same patriotic spirit, and will present a candidate, who, whether he fought for the Union or not, thoroughly sustained the war, [great applause], and whom all the soldiers and sailors of the Union can support without even seeming inconsistency.

THE TWO PARTIES.

The Republican party represents no principle for which we fought. We thought not of negro suffrage, [applause and cries of "No, no,"] or of white disfranchisement—of forcing on the Southern States unequal fellowship in the Union. "Never, never,"—of changing our beneficent form of Government, ["No, never,"] or of perpetuating the Republican party. ["Never, never."] Out of the five hundred thousand Union soldiers, Democrats and Republicans, who sleep on fields washed by the Atlantic and the Gulf, not one laid down his life for any such end. Of the fifteen hundred thousand of their surviving comrades, not one will say he would have risked his life for either of these objects. And these measures of the Republican party are not only not the object of the war, but are so proscribed as to defeat those objects, and to inflict on the nation evils as great as those the war was waged to prevent. [Shouts "That's so."]

The Democratic party is now the only party true to the Constitution and the Union. [Applause.] If we would accomplish the purposes of our service and sacrifice, if we would save the Union, the States, their liberties, and laws, we must unite with the Democracy. [Long continued applause.] We must not ask what men have been, but what they are; not who lately defended the Constitution but who now defend it. [Great applause.] In the path which the Democratic party treads we see the foot-prints of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Adams, and all the heroes of the Revolution; of Webster, Jackson, Clay, Wright, and all the giants of the generation just gone before us; and while it keeps that line of march, and bears the flag of the Constitution and the Union, we can follow it with pride and with unfaltering trust. [Immense applause, cheers, and waving of hats, followed by the band playing "Bally Bound the flag."]